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## RACE MINGLING IN HAWAII

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A discussion of the mingling of races would seem to imply that there exists somewhere a pure stock. Probably this is a mere historic ideal.<sup>1</sup> The social body is a mixture, and whatever qualities it exhibits exist by virtue of or in spite of an extended process of amalgamation. The word "race" therefore can be applied only to fairly fixed types which measure up to certain canons of homogeneity. The problem of mingling involves on the one hand a study of the forces which have created these types, and on the other an attempt to interpret their operation in contemporary race conjunction. Data are difficult to obtain, but a few principles have made themselves prominent.

### MOTIVES AND CONDITIONS INVOLVED IN RACE MINGLING

When two races meet, the normal course of their association is through introduction, hostility, tolerance, indifference, co-operation, friendship, fusion. Though often one or more of these stages is omitted, the general process is revealed in the conquest of one race by another, in the contact of two parallel migrating groups, and in the peaceful settlement of large numbers of men from one land within a territory already partially occupied. Certain forces oppose it—primarily, geographic isolation. Others favor it—notably, economic necessity. The stage with which we have to do in this paper is the final one. It is pertinent to inquire how far the principles observable throughout the entire movement survive and exert an influence for or against interbreeding.

Among the most potent deterring forces is physical repulsion. This must not be confused with contrast in specific physical characteristics, for it involves the complete reaction of man to man or of race to race. It is therefore in reality psychic. The same may

<sup>1</sup> Armand de Quatrefages, *Human Species* (1895), pp. 273-75.

be said of that body of tradition which has been classified as "group standards." Included in it are religious beliefs, civil institutions, manners and customs, race propensities and ideals. It is semi-sacred in character, and frowns upon intimacy with foreigners as threatening its integrity. Intensify it on one side and there develops that religious bigotry which has kept many a stock pure for centuries. Foster it on another side and there appears the solidarity of the Jewish and the Japanese peoples. Certain minor adverse influences might be mentioned under the heads of prejudice, lack of sympathy, mental preference, and canons of beauty. These, however, are more obviously survivals. In so far as they fall without the area of group standards they belong to the sphere of individual judgment.

The barriers mentioned break down of their own weight as races pass from acquaintance to intimacy. Moreover, two influences may be mentioned as hastening actual interbreeding. The psychic element of novelty often leads to unions which otherwise would not take place, and military or other circumstances frequently force groups of men to the alternative of alien marriage or no marriage at all.

A statement of the reactions dictated by these psychic tendencies is found in Ward's laws of miscegenation.<sup>1</sup> The significant aspect of it is that it epitomizes the response to what Mr. Ward calls the "biological imperative" of race improvement. Individuals choose mates as they do because of inherent impulse to produce offspring superior to themselves. If this principle can be accepted it may interpret both those influences which encourage and those which check fusion.

#### EFFECTS OF RACE MINGLING

The operation of the principles already discussed may follow any one of several lines in a given instance of race conjunction. One people may disappear before another, either as the result of an extermination policy or through the more gradual influence of new disease and novel economic situations. There may be absorption, one element losing its identity without exerting any

<sup>1</sup> L. F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (1903), p. 359.

marked effect upon the other and greater. The conditions for this are adaptability and relatively small numbers in one race and the existence of not too great a culture interval between the two concerned. Again, there may appear the formation of a new stock, taking the place of, or existing beside, the old. Lastly, there may be little or no interbreeding, the two peoples dwelling side by side in distinct racial groups, but co-operating to greater or less degree in community life.

Where races refuse to blend, open antagonism is always a possibility. Where they meet to create a new stock, social complications equally conspicuous are likely to arise. A hardening of caste lines may ensue, though quite as probably the very laxity which has allowed the fusion is confirmed by the fact of fusion. A well-defined "buffer" class may be evolved. With whatever vagueness social lines are drawn, however, there is almost certain to emerge the tragedy of the individual who combines the culture characteristics of one parent race with the physical marks of the other. This product, especially in a tense economic environment, inclines to cause bitterness. Race antipathy so arising may be even more virulent than that between two mutually jealous and exclusive groups which tolerate and avoid each other.

Passing from the group consequences of race mingling, perhaps the most vital matter of the entire problem relates to the character of offspring. Much has been made of the theory that hybrid peoples are likely to be retrogressive—weakly, unstable, and even infertile. Careful observations may be at the bottom of this, but it should be remembered that the circumstances under which interbreeding takes place are often disadvantageous.<sup>1</sup> Often it involves violent change of environment for one of the contributing bloods, a condition which is believed to discourage fecundity. Differing group standards in the parents may forbid such psychic harmony as is essential to the production of strong and abundant progeny. Most important of all, unwonted diseases are likely to cause high mortality among peoples who can meet them neither with inherited immunity nor with acquired resistance. It is significant also that

<sup>1</sup> C. L. Brace, *Races of the Old World* (1864), p. 490.

the preliminary fusing often is identified with the less wholesome elements of at least one stock.

Convincing as may appear the instances of hybrid inferiority, excellent evidence for the worth of mixed bloods is at hand.<sup>1</sup> It seems fair, therefore, to consider that such unfavorable influences as those mentioned above are responsible for the seeming deterioration of certain crossed products. The fecundity and longevity of mixed races in Mexico and Brazil are conspicuous<sup>2</sup>—in fact, the mixture of Latins, negroes, and Indians which is peopling Central and South America seems to be an ascendant stock.<sup>3</sup> There may be significance also in the numerical growth of the mulattoes in the United States,<sup>4</sup> and in the occasional emergence of strong individuals in this race. When the social body is admittedly a mixture, and when great areas can be permanently populated by such stocks as the Latin-Indian and the French-Indian, the burden of proof would seem to lie with those who contend that no hybrid race can thrive and persist.

#### THE SITUATION IN HAWAII

a) *The elements*.—Such principles of race mingling as are known seem in the recital somewhat abstract and prehistoric. For example of contemporary application we need only turn to Hawaii. Fusion is in process in the mid-Pacific. In order to estimate it let us first examine the elements. The base is of course the native race. The derivation of this is uncertain. Together with the inhabitants of New Zealand, the Marquesas, the Society, the Samoan, and other Pacific islands it makes up the Polynesian group. It came ultimately from the Indian archipelago, but its more specific relations are clouded.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 482; Earl Finch, "Effects of Race Miscegenation," in G. Spiller (ed.), *Papers on Inter-racial Problems* (Ginn, 1911), pp. 108-12.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Keane, *Central and South America* (1909), I, 492-93; II, 123.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Pennington, *Argentine Republic* (1910), p. 35. Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The Metis, or Half-Breeds of Brazil," in G. Spiller (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 377-82; Quatre-fages, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 281-82; J. P. Canto, *Chile* (1912), pp. 139-41.

<sup>4</sup> U.S. Census Report, 1910, I, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Fornander, *Polynesian Race* (1890), I, 2.

Perhaps because of the mild and somewhat enervating clime in which he has lived the Hawaiian is not so strong a type as is his Maori kinsman. His whole being shows the effect of his environment. The temperature of Hawaii varies but a few degrees throughout the year. There is practically no seasonal change. The cultivated food supply is little subject to climatic exigencies. Fish is always abundant in the sea. The native mind and physique have lacked, therefore, on the one hand the stimulus of the temperate zone and on the other the compelling pressure of a climate in which provision for shelter and subsistence must be made against adverse natural conditions and fierce competition of kind. Circumstances are such as to minimize the growth of positive traits. The Hawaiian is large and well formed, muscular, and inclined to corpulency. He is simple minded, generous, gentle, susceptible to influence, averse to sustained effort, incapable of enduring mental strain. The present native population is 26,000.<sup>1</sup> Roughly, this is one-eighth of the original—a significant commentary upon civilization's contribution to backward races.

Next chronologically among the fusing factors in Hawaii is the Caucasian. His place can best be shown by sketching the white influences that have reached the group. The first Europeans who touched Hawaii<sup>2</sup>—the crew of a Spanish ship in 1528—left little more than a legend. Real acquaintance with the whites came when Cook discovered the islands for the modern world in 1778.<sup>3</sup> For several decades those proverbially undesirable elements which have often brought disaster to unopened lands exploited Hawaii. Cook's own party left a trail of blood and lust. Then followed whalers, beach-combers, Botany Bay convicts, adventurers from every civilized land. In 1820, however, began the play of an opposing force in the arrival of band after band of New England missionaries. Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Mormon emissaries came in their turn. Two parallel but hostile streams of white influence continued to flow into Hawaii for forty years. Gradually the islands

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Census Report, 1910, III, 1159.

<sup>2</sup> W. F. Blackman, *Making of Hawaii* (1906), p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> W. D. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (1891), chaps. xvi ff.; Blackman, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-72.

came to be more widely known as a congenial spot for American settlers. Business began to exert its pull, and since annexation this, together with professional opportunity and the government's military activity, has swelled the Caucasian population. Thus Hawaii has since 1778 felt the touch of libertinism, of Puritanism, and finally of modern, middle-class American ideals. In 1910 the whites, exclusive of Portuguese and Spanish, numbered 15,000.<sup>1</sup>

The Chinese in Hawaii may well debate the claim of the Caucasian to second place among the fusing elements. Chinese began to arrive before the middle of the century, in response to the opportunities of the sandalwood trade. In 1852 the first supply of Chinese labor reached the islands. This was augmented from time to time until 1883, when there began to go into force those restrictive measures which finally ended Chinese immigration. The Chinese in Hawaii are all from Quantung and largely from Canton. They exhibit, therefore, the racial characteristics of the southern Chinese, being short, dark-skinned, and suggestive of Malay extraction. Their mental traits are those of the Chinese in general. They are plodding, thrifty, inveterate workers, content with simple living, stolid, and capable of excelling in those arts and activities which involve memory and imitation rather than originality. The bearing of these qualities upon the racial situation will appear later. Notwithstanding the cessation of immigration the Chinese element in the population is important numerically as well as otherwise. The census of 1910 puts it at 22,000.

A dozen other peoples are found in Hawaii in appreciable numbers. Of these the Portuguese alone promise to contribute in any considerable measure to the race mixture. They were imported as cheap plantation labor, and now number 22,000.<sup>2</sup> They intermarry with no great freedom, but since their group is relatively large their influence is bound to be felt. The Japanese stand at the other end of the scale. Separate, exclusive, and avoided by all, they almost never form unions with other peoples. Between these two extremes are sprinklings of various nationalities—small in extent, but nevertheless certain to leave their mark in a

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Census Report, 1910, III, 1159.

<sup>2</sup> T. G. Thrum, *Hawaiian Annual* (1911), pp. 43-53.

community where race lines are vague and the fusing process well under way. These include Korean, Russian, Filipino, Spanish, Porto Rican, negro. Moreover, the influences catalogued are by no means final. At any time a new and powerful one may be introduced. Labor is scarce. The planters and the Department of Immigration are scouring the earth for cheap workers.<sup>1</sup> New Latin or oriental stocks may be imported and inject a hitherto unknown strain into the blending populace.

*b) Influences which have encouraged fusion.*—Having examined the ingredients, let us note the forces which have guided the actual mingling of races in Hawaii. They began with libertinism, for the early American and European adventurers were not of the stripe to turn from an unmoral race whose women admired the white gods and among whom hospitality meant the fullest sharing of the home. Then followed legitimate relations, for the more scrupulous immigrants and even the missionary offspring found it expedient to take wives from the amiable, tractable people who were their sole companions. Later came the Chinese men. Isolated from females of their own race, they sought marriage alliances with the natives. These the Hawaiian women were often glad to make, for the Chinese was regarded as a better provider than the Hawaiian. Of late years the Portuguese have been thrown with Hawaiians, Chinese, and hybrids upon the plantations and in the poorer city districts in such intimacy as to produce a certain amount of Latin intermarriage. As the Portuguese for the most part brought their women with them, and as they are somewhat inclined to separateness, this has not been considerable. It may, however, exert a perceptible influence.

So much for the situations which have brought about interbreeding in the past. They are to no such extent operative today as formerly. With the growth of the two cities of the islands and the establishment of modern American institutions a new set of forces has begun its work. Whether or not these forces are directly encouraging to actual fusion, they are conspicuously productive of race contact in the social and intellectual and cultural spheres. In general they are similar to the influences which the mainland calls upon in dealing with European immigrants. They are

<sup>1</sup> Hawaii Governor, Annual Report (1911), pp. 47-49.



worthy of some notice, however, because the ideals of the races concerned are opposed rather than akin to our own, because in spite of this diversity American *mores* are being accepted with eagerness, and because assimilation is proceeding with even greater success than where Europeans are involved.

Among the forces now active, education deserves first mention. Theoretically common-school privileges are available to all, and compulsory, although the territory has difficulty in keeping pace with the need. Besides the grade schools it provides three high schools, and in co-operation with the federal government a college of agriculture and mechanic arts. The islands teem with elementary institutions under sectarian and private auspices, and almost without exception students are admitted to these without regard to nationality. In fact, several of the more important exist primarily for the benefit of Orientals and Hawaiians. The result is that the young people of these races are taking business positions requiring training and ability, pursuing further study in mainland colleges, and rapidly achieving the Anglo-Saxon culture standard. The earnestness and capacity of the average non-American pupil would put many a white student to shame.

Religious influences are playing an important part in Hawaii's development. While Buddhism and Confucianism have a strong hold among the Orientals, it is obvious that neither of them can ever be a flux. Neither can Christianity of any but the broadest and most liberal type. Fortunately the Protestant church leaders have learned in some measure to plant the seed and allow the great forces to care for the growing. The native Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and other Christian groups are left largely to interpret the Galilean message in the light of their own peculiar race psychology and experience. At least one large church of the islands not only reaches out to all nations, but with a creed that is a bare statement of purpose welcomes the earnest soul whether he be orthodox Christian, Buddhist, Jew, or Catholic. Another, while retaining a less modern creed, requires no assent thereto.

Social relations are such as to promote race intercourse. Honolulu is a cosmopolis in which diverse peoples not only live but mingle. A gathering of ten taken at random in a store or office

is more than likely to include white, Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese. A street car may carry at once representatives of a dozen races without a suggestion of Jim-Crowism. And at the functions arranged by leaders of one nationality there are found people of the others—all assemble on a single footing at the governor's levee, at Queen Liliuokalani's birthday reception, at festivities in the Chinese district, at the celebration of a German holiday, or at a lawn party in honor of visiting Japanese royalty. Heterogeneous crowds jostle each other at steamer landings and band concerts. The Washington's birthday fête enlists every element of the community in the year's great jollification. Good feeling prevails and refutes the proverbial notion that amity and co-operation are impossible among people whose racial inheritances are dissimilar. Common interests and purposes have operated to weld the population into a working social unit.

Economic considerations weigh heavily on the side of amalgamation. Commercially the various classes are vitally dependent upon each other. Whites are on the ground only in sufficient numbers to provide leadership in business and the professions, and this condition is likely to continue. Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, and Russians contribute plantation labor. Orientals dominate the trades, perform menial service, and raise the vegetables, rice, and taro. Portuguese and Hawaiians supply the city and dock labor. While there is a distinct line drawn according to dignity of occupation, it falls between the crust of whites and the rest of the lump. Among the other races there is little gradation. Each is necessary in its place, and there is comparatively little economic competition. It is only fair to say that what competition does exist is increasing, as ambitious Chinese and Japanese and Portuguese push out from the plantations into the trades and crowd the field. There is little animosity, however, barring the slight distrust which exists between the Japanese and every other element in the population.

Certain other agencies may be mentioned as encouraging race contact and urging conformity to American civilization. English is now the language of the government and of big business, and its recognition appears in the eagerness with which the Orientals seek a knowledge of it and the pride with which those already proficient

in its use scorn the "pidgin" jargon. This appears even among the Japanese, who are most jealous of their own institutions. Newspapers printed in English increasingly spread mainland ideals throughout the heterogeneous community. Western clothes are affected to a large extent by all—the single possible exception being the Japanese, whose adherence to their national garb is probably a matter of comfort. It is interesting to note that the old "holaku" or "Mother Hubbard" is popular among all the races, being used about the home even by white women of the better classes. This was introduced by the early missionaries. The Hawaiian has preserved it, and is now passing it on to the other peoples as a derived contribution.

c) *Results*.—Such are the influences, early and recent, which have brought about race contact, race understanding, and a limited interbreeding of peoples in Hawaii. Numerically the results can be briefly stated in figures furnished by the twelfth and thirteenth census reports:<sup>1</sup>

	1900	1910
Hawaiians . . . . .	29,799	26,041
Various imported pure stocks . .	116,345	153,362
Mixed races . . . . .	7,857	12,506

Certain data for the years July 1, 1896, to August 31, 1905, relating to the Chinese are also interesting. In this period Chinese were parties to 524 marriages. Of these 195 involved persons both of whom were Chinese. In 193 cases marriage was between Chinese and Hawaiian. In the remaining instances Chinese married Porto Ricans, Portuguese, Greeks, half-whites, and in a very few cases Japanese. Hawaiian-Chinese married English, Scotch, German, and Spanish.<sup>2</sup>

The numerical side of the matter is of minor importance, once the movement is recognized as more than abortive. The three-sided combination of Hawaiian, Caucasian, and Chinese is a very evident fact, and the inquiry of chief moment concerns its nature. Chronologically the Caucasian-Hawaiian deserves first mention. There is to be observed in his case nothing indicative of the weakness

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Census Report, 1910, III, 1159.

<sup>2</sup> Figures compiled from original records in the office of the Board of Health, Honolulu, by Dr. Doremus Scudder, pastor of Central Union Church, Honolulu.

so often ascribed to mixed peoples. He is well built, strong, and prolific. He has no greater susceptibility to disease than is usual in races forced into contact with new contagions. He even thrives under exotic conditions so long as he may have his staple food. Intellectually he is no giant, and when measured by American standards may seem to lack seriousness and perseverance. But there are able men in his group, the average is fair, and he exemplifies those lighter qualities a strain of which might not be out of place in our austere Caucasian mentality. In spite of the disparity between the culture standards of the contributing races it is certain that the Caucasian-Hawaiian is not inferior to both. How closely he hovers about the average of the two is a query so vague as to be almost idle. If there is nothing remarkable about him there is surely nothing notably inferior. Many and many a time he proves his worth, and his class is undeniably a community accession.

Even more than this can be said for the Chinese-Hawaiian. The combination of parent qualities renders him industrious, yet keeps him from the treadmill; gives him purpose, but saves him from over-intensity; bestows upon him strength and resisting power; makes him capable of enjoying as well as winning the contest for subsistence and advancement; gives him ability in acquiring knowledge, and versatility and aptness in applying it. There can be no question that, measured by western economic requirements, the Chinese-Hawaiian is far superior to both of the elements in his make-up.

The Caucasian-Hawaiian and the Chinese-Hawaiian are the primary products of the fusion. Following their establishment has come a mingling of the two. This has been accompanied by the injection in small quantities of such other bloods as have reached the islands. The vital fact in the process, however, is the prominence of the Caucasian, Hawaiian, and Chinese factors. Of these, the Chinese is probably to be the dominant strain. On the ethnic side this is to be expected because the Chinese is the most stable and fixed and pure element of the three. Further reason is found in the facts that full Hawaiians are rapidly disappearing, that the class alignment of the whites now in the islands has put a check upon their marriage with natives, and that the industrial prospects of the territory do not warrant further increase of such whites as would

be likely to contribute to the fusion. It is obvious, too, that the race which presses most heavily upon the plastic ethnic mass will stamp its own distinguishing marks most deeply upon the new product. And certainly the Chinese thus far is the weightiest element in the movement. It will be worth while, perhaps, to note the characteristics of the individuals in whom the three stocks are represented. The Caucasian-Hawaiian-Chinese is below the medium height. He is stocky, and inclined to be thickly built and muscular. His skin is medium brown and his hair black. His eyes are usually of a very dark brown. Mentally he has the assiduity of the Chinese and the ambition of the white, but is handicapped by an element in his Hawaiian inheritance which savors of dulness. He is usually very dependable, although traces of the native volatility may sometimes unsettle him. He is tractable and accommodating, yet well anchored to principles and a purpose. He loves to command, and is jealous of his authority and rights. He revels in music, and takes readily to the other culture features of our civilization. He is coming to be a force in the business world, and is among the most eager of students. What he achieves he achieves through earnestness and persistence—earnestness and persistence so tempered as to deliver him from Anglo-Saxon severity.

But if the dominant ethnic element is the Chinese, the preponderant culture factor is our own, with scarcely a minor modification. The educational ideals are American. Anglo-Saxon Christianity puts its stamp upon all who pass beyond the stage of primary schooling. European dress is almost universally worn, and as the economic standard rises American food is winning the people from poi and rice. The sports that are popular in the United States are the sports of the Caucasian-Hawaiian-Chinese, and the occasional musical artist who happens in upon the community is enjoyed by the mixed race as well as by the American and European. It is necessary only to mention that Chinese, Hawaiian, and mixed peoples desire generally to be known as American to show the powerful drift toward the ideals of our own land. Indeed, it would be peculiar if, while China is straining after western civilization, her children at the hub of the Pacific should not eagerly seize their opportunities to absorb it.

d) *The prospect.*—What of the future? We have two well-differentiated groups of conditions tending to race-fusion. The first clearly produced actual interbreeding. To what extent the second will so act is a matter for conjecture. If race lines are gradually being a little more closely drawn, as would seem sometimes to be the case, blending may be checked. Certainly there are forces tending to retard it, for the tragedy of the highly cultured negro finds a mild counterpart in the situation of the educated native of Hawaii in whose veins runs a mixture of white, Hawaiian, and Chinese blood. To a large extent, however, the mixed marriages take place in a stratum of society whose members would not be deterred by thought of a culture anomaly. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the mixing will proceed at a moderate rate. This does not, of course, mean that Hawaii will be given over to the Caucasian-Hawaiian-Chinese race. The Japanese are predominant numerically and promise to remain so. The Portuguese constitute a bulky element. Both are prolific, and neither contributes considerably to the fusion. What is likely to appear is the gradual growth of the new stock, fitting itself for leadership in the minor business and clerical activities of the islands. Parallel with it will live the non-fusing races, together with those Caucasian and Chinese elements which do not enter into the mixture, and with the Hawaiian remnant, until that is overtaken by absorption and extinction.

Even were there to be no extension of the process, race amalgamation in Hawaii is more than an interesting and isolated movement. World-statesmen have for years been inquiring what is to happen when there transpires the real meeting of East and West. Can opposing customs be reconciled? Can varying economic standards be adjusted? Can fragile ideals associate without destruction? Hawaii furnishes one answer. Here a dozen races are taking unto themselves a single manner of life, one set of ideals, and one group of purposes. And here three peoples are joining to form a new stock. How far-reaching this last may be cannot be predicted. The significant facts are that it has seemingly established itself in the community, and that it is to all appearances virile, capable, fertile, and charged with the excellences of the parent races.